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ABSTRACT

This document describes the ways in which Japan and the German nations have taught the history of World War II. According to the document, the former German Democratic Republic (GDR) took a pro-communist and anti-fascist approach to the subject. At the same time, the Western Allies pressured the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) to institute a political education system designed to prevent the Germans from starting anew on the track toward fascism. In recent years, the FRG took greater responsibility for the War, and the mass media were instrumental in bringing information to the German public. Japanese teaching about the War downplays the nation's aggression in Asia and the Pacific and emphasizes the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by the United States. The document argues that there is a continued need for peace education concerning World War II, but there is also a need to avoid negative politicization of the issue. Eighteen endnotes are included along with 47 references. (LBG)

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TRAGIC PAGES

How the GDR, FRG and Japan Processed Their
War History – Lessons for Education for Peace

Robert Aspeslagh

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TRAGIC PAGES: HOW THE GDR, FRG AND JAPAN PROCESSED THEIR WAR HISTORY – LESSONS FOR EDUCATION FOR PEACE

Robert Aspeslagh

On the basis of three cases "Tragic Pages: How the GDR, FRG and Japan Processed their War History – Lessons for Education for Peace" deals with three different attitudes towards individual war history: (i) disclaimers of responsibility, (ii) sense of guilt and responsibility, and (iii) mirror image and the role of the victim. Several events during the last few years made it clear that the Second World War is still present in the lives of the people.

The rise of neo-fascist youngsters in the new Federal Republic of Germany has to be discussed in the light of the official attitude in the former German Democratic Republic (GDR) towards the war: the disclaimer of responsibility. Although education in the GDR gave much attention to the events of Second World War it never really touched themselves. In this respect we could also look at the developments in Austria and Slovakia where a comparable attitude exists about the historical contribution of these states to Nazism and the extermination of the Jews.

The attention in the former Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) to the fate of the former Soviet Union, in particular the massive aid of the population to Russia, bears a strong undertone of a sense of guilt: during the war the German army killed millions of Russians about fifty years ago. Hence the FRG accepted her responsibility for the Second World War and she developed many programs both for education and the mass-media to inform the young people and the public in general about the atrocities of Nazism. Nonetheless in the old "Länder" of the new FRG extreme right wing groups are also growing.

The vehement discussions about Pearl Harbor on the occasion of its fiftieth anniversary revealed a third attitude: the mirror image and the role of the victim. Japan strongly fosters the idea that the United States and the other Western countries which were involved in the war against Japan have to be seen as the actual aggressors, who forced Japan into the war. For most of Japanese people the Pacific War began with its final phase: Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The Japanese historical responsibility for the War has been carefully kept out of the school textbooks.

For education for peace the comparison of these three cases in dealing with tragic pages of one's own history can be important since every nation has to deal with tragic pages. In "Tragic Pages: How the GDR, FRG and Japan Processed their War History – Lessons for Education for Peace" this issue is discussed on the basis of these cases and attitudes towards the Second World War.

TRAGIC PAGES: HOW THE GDR, FRG AND JAPAN PROCESSED THEIR WAR HISTORY – LESSONS FOR EDUCATION FOR PEACE

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Why this topic?

Participating in many conferences related to peace and international relations I was confronted with the Japanese victims of Hiroshima and Nagasaki many times. However just and sad their story was, I was struck by the absence of the awareness of Japanese aggression, which mainly caused the Pacific War. Moreover, experiencing the Japanese prisoners camps as a child in Indonesia, I felt irritated that Japan did not consider her own war acts nor her numerous victims in China, Korea, Philippines, etc. Reasons enough to question Japan's reluctance to deal with her own war history and to compare that to the way the Federal Republic of Germany and the former German Democratic Republic processed their war history.

Memories

Suddenly the Japanese soldiers, who guarded the prisoners camp, changed their attitudes. Though they were, generally speaking, not unkind to children, it had not been very pleasant being cooped up with our mothers in such a camp under Japanese military rule for several years. We children got sweets. Then, suddenly, they disappeared, and Ghurkas took their place and chased us away. Sometimes the Japanese soldiers came back for a while, a joyous moment. –

We moved with several families from the camp to a villa on the outskirts of Medan. Indonesian freedom fighters fought their righteous war of independence against us. They attacked the house. Rifle fire all around. Out of nowhere trucks with Japanese soldiers emerged and whilst shooting back surrounded the house. The next day early in the morning my friend and I, full of excitement, looked for the dead. To our disappointment we couldn't find one, but bullets had hit almost every brick of the house. –

On the occasion of the International Peace Research Association and the Summer School of the International Institute on Peace Education I took part in their meetings in Kyoto and Tokyo in the summer of 1992. There I un-

folded my opinion about Japan's attitudes towards the war for an audience of Japanese teachers and researchers. For some of my old Japanese fellow researchers it was the first time that they became aware of my own war history. In very honest and open sessions we came to the common conclusion that much still has to be done in Japanese education in order to achieve a true account of Japan's war history. I would like to thank all those teachers and researchers for their attention and their suggestions, in particular Tosio Kaneika, Toshifumi Murakami, Mitsuo Okamoto and Yoshikazu Sakamoto.

1.1 History

Memories are history. History consists of more than memories: it has to reveal the whole of knowledge about the past acquired through research. When people, however, started to talk, they commenced to tell stories and tales. They told their narratives to their children. The old men and women told the tales of the group, the tribe, the people to the new generations. They told about the past. Hence history is a narration. Often it is a grand-narration about a nation, a town, a village, a family or a person. Over time the narration changes and adapts new elements. If the narrative has to help to implant fear or to warn about dangers the story tellers gradually add through the times horrible and awkward characteristics and moments: the "Blue Beard history". Once something terrible happened. There are modern Blue Beards: Napoleon, Hitler, Stalin, Saddam Hussein and others.

Most tales became myths serving other purposes. They have to show the importance, the nobility, the cultural, scientific and technical achievements of a nation. The self-image of a nation has to be positive if its people are to obtain a positive self-image. For no society can hope to survive if its citizens have a negative self-image. It would become extinct. "Every nation a Nobel Prize winner" – that wouldn't be bad, if the prize could be carefully disseminated whilst keeping up its prestige.

Grand-narratives contribute to the glory of the people concerned. In combination with these stories we show our glorious past in our museums and libraries. Altogether they foster our self-image and they make us self-confident. In the deepest part of our souls we think: "It is fine to be..." – in my case "Dutch", but we won't say it aloud. We have to be careful not to overestimate ourselves. In a Western pattern of a Calvinist background that is bad behavior. Nonetheless we think the same as those who have no cultural constraints about proclaiming this from the housetops.

Could we consider the grand-narration of history as a single but loud

clarion call, the meta-narration of history is the deafening loudness of a music under which every other sound of the critical voice is silenced. The priest-king; the king-god; the emperor the descendent of the sun goddess; the king and the viceroy as the representatives of god on earth; the Sun King; the people of the sun; the chosen people; ancestors of... All these expressions mystify history and make it indisputable. No matter the nature of the historical events: crimes, failures, conceitedness, imaginative heroism.

On the one side grand-narrations give, have to give, people some self-confidence and a positive self-image. At the same time their simple facts have useful effects on the stability of the society and its institutions. On the other hand history has to expose such grand-narrations. Such grand-narrations do not occur independently, but are encapsulated in a cultural and political system. History in the Twentieth Century was often subject to misuse though, whilst it wittingly consisted of grand-narrations and served myths. Both the Communist system and Japan have systematically used history to fashion their own myths and to drill historians in their service (Geyl, 1954). From this perspective the other side of history, its negative and abominable appearance, cannot be accepted and must be suppressed. Now the meta-narrator appears with his meta-narrations. These meta-narrations of history submit people to the tyranny of the meta-narrators. They need to obscure history for their own interests: power and enrichment by keeping the people simple, credulous and stupid.

History, however, has to be critical without any fear of the past and without catering to people or nation. For we cannot understand and clarify the present without connecting it with the history and its motives of the recent past. Such a history is complex by its nature, but not unprincipled and therefore leading to relativism. (1) History, although we never will know the true history, can help us to understand the world where we live. Therefore, history should open the book of our past also, reading aloud our tragic pages and exposing our myths. The way, however, through which we use history for this purpose is decisive for the new generations.

1.2 Three Narrations

Aggression, terror, oppression, systematic and unsystematic extermination of other people, mad leaders and docile people, who followed their leaders into their undoing – these are not a very popular historical inheritance of a nation. Indeed, the nations who started World War II have such a past. (2)

Three narrations about this war and the time which preceded that war

will be discussed. These narrations are: (i) the role and effects of anti-fascist education in the former German Democratic Republic (3); (ii) political education in the Federal Republic of Germany and questions about the knowledge of the Germans then about Hitler and his regime; (iii) the function of a hostile world concerning the past of Japan.

Each nation has dealt and is still dealing with its past in its own specific way. The war issue in each country is still very sensitive. Hence it is not an easy history that we have to understand.

2.1 A Re-created Anti-fascist History

Ideological historiography needs a re-created history and does not have the need to represent the reality of the past. The starting-point of Communist historiography demanded from its historians a partiality which had to be on a par with the policies of the ruling party. At the 2nd Party Conference of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED), the ruling party in the GDR, the historians received instructions (see: *Protokoll der Verhandlungen der II. Parteikonferenz ...*, 1952, p. 120): (i) to develop patriotic awareness, pride in the great traditions of the nation of the GDR; (ii) to make clear the meaning of the scientific study of German history with respect to her struggle for the national unity of Germany; and (iii) to make clear how the German nation protected its great traditions, in particular in the face of the aspirations of the American occupation to neglect the achievements of the people of the GDR. Such directives demanded that East German historians left no stone unturned as they rewrote every aspect of history, both national and international.

As Leo Stern explained it, the historians of the GDR were to underline the traditions of the German nation with respect to freedom and struggle back into the Middle Ages in order to demonstrate that "German history is rich in big and shining examples of courage, heroism, patriotism and devotion to the main interests of the German nation" (Stern, 1952, p. 1). The outcome for the East German historians was negative, because they had to reflect the present into the past. With every change in the present they had to reconsider the whole history. As a result, old famous historical figures like Martin Luther and Frederik the Great became revolutionary leaders of the peasants and workers. In a history textbook for pupils, World War I became a heroic struggle of the "middle-powers" (*Mittelmächten*), Germany and Austria-Hungary, against the "imperialist powers" of England, France and Russia. Moreover the ruling classes of the imperialist powers aspired to divide the German colonies (see: Gutsche, 1976, p. 9).

Although the author did not say that Germany was fighting an anti-imperial, not anti-colonial war, the suggestion was rather clear that historical right was on the side of Germany.

The main problem for the East German historians was the description of the history of their own state. In particular Stalinism and the Stalinist purifications of the German Communists both before and after the communist takeover by the SED caused them many problems. The revolt of the 17th of June 1953 could not be sufficiently treated unless the event was characterized as a Western attempt to destroy the GDR. All these issues concerned only the political history of the GDR, leaving out the economic and social history of the country.

2.2 Anti-fascist Education in the GDR

The answers in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) to German war crimes were found in the anti-fascist education. In particular the so called "Jugendweihe" – initiation ritual of the youth of the GDR – was one of the most important aspects of the extracurricular education of youth. Almost 90% of the youth aged 14 and 15 took part in this event (Wiegmann, 1991, p. 402). The aim of the "Jugendweihe" was to teach the youth about the history of the anti-fascist resistance in Germany. Also in school much attention was given to the anti-fascist resistance of the Germans. Anti-fascist education had three main aims.

Such education wanted to confront pupils with the anti-fascist tradition of the GDR. In particular it focussed on the representatives of the Communist resistance against Hitler. The anti-fascist past of the GDR's own leaders was sketched out for the whole population of the GDR. Although in the eighties other groups apart from Communists were also identified as being anti-fascist, the main focus was on the Communist role in the resistance to Hitler and the Nazis. It held up resistance fighters, like Walter Ulbricht, Erich Honecker, Wilhelm Pieck and others, as examples of anti-fascism. Thus far this method of anti-fascist education can be compared with the inclination of peace education to focus on so called "peace heroes". The history of the GDR started with 1945, at the "hour zero", and concealed behind that the belief of a totally new start (Schubarth, Pschierer & Schmidt, 1991, p. 3). Hence the GDR could not enter upon its duty to present a fair and honest historical image of the German past. On the contrary it pictured itself as the heir and solicitor of the historical anti-fascist movement, while the FRG had to be seen as the successor of the old fascist Germany.

Secondly by defining fascism in mere social-economic terms, i.e. as a

phenomenon of the capitalist and imperialist ideology, the reinforcement of the anti-capitalist proprietary relations of the decisive means of production in the GDR could make it believe in the extermination of fascism within its own borders. On the other hand anti-fascist education had to saddle the FRG with the inheritance of Nazism and German responsibility for the war. In this way it had to foster hostility in order to achieve solidarity and unity.

The final aim of anti-fascist education, however, was the creation of an unconditionally loyal citizen. Anti-fascist education had to mould faithful civic virtue and a true belief in the state.

2.3 Failing Education

Anti-fascist education in the GDR turned out to be a disaster. The educational approach caused a supersaturation of the history of the Communist resistance. It was one-sided, i.e. the focus was anti-capitalist and anti-western, and concentrated on the anti-fascist heroism of the GDR's own Communist leaders. The prominent Nazi leaders became caricatures. Therefore it prevented youngsters from understanding the complexity of the history of fascism. Problems of "Führerkult" (leadership cult of Hitler in particular) and the seduction of the German population could not be transferred to the youngsters either emotionally or rationally (Schubarth, Pschierer & Schmidt, 1991, p. 9). Also the contradictions of the past which arose from the continuation of totalitarianism, although in a different shape, could not be solved. For the GDR continued the German militarist tradition through a militarist patriotic education (Wehrausbildung) (4) which was strongly related to the anti-imperialist and anti-fascist struggle. Moreover the aim of the state doctrine – to establish a socialist-communist future – did not give pupils a wide enough range to elaborate and digest the national-socialist inheritance.

Many citizens of the GDR, such as the parents and later the grandparents of the pupils, had, however, been brought up in the period of the "Drittes Reich" (Third Empire). Their repressed recognition of the responsibility of their generation for the rise of fascism prevented grandchildren from asking their grandparents about their own past. Such a negation also avoided research into the past by the pupils themselves. For there was no national-socialism on their own threshold. The myth could emerge that the GDR had processed her national-socialist history and with that had got over the risk of a re-emergence of fascism. On the other hand it condemned the West as the fertile womb for a rebirth of fascism.

If we analyze both the aims of education in the GDR and the effects of this education on the different generations which have been educated by that system, a precarious picture emerges. The Communist regime of the GDR was unpopular with its own population. On the one hand whilst it failed to set the right example itself it preached something else. Therefore it became incredible and a falsehood. What can people believe then? They will incline to believe the opposite. Hence the interpretation in the GDR of Nazism as a product of imperialism and capitalism, which were the main characteristics of the Federal Republic of Germany, gained a different meaning. The citizens of the GDR were able to look at the FRG because of television. There they saw everything, both political and economical, that they wanted to obtain too. Fascism, therefore, could not be as bad as their own incredible politicians tried to present it.

The history of the GDR and the Communist party (SED) reveals many so-called "white spots", in particular about the tragic fate of the German Communist victims of Stalinist purges. In connection with the Hitler-Stalin-Pact hundreds of German Communists were extradited to the Gestapo. Many of them were sent into former concentration camps (Weber, 1990, p. 6) where they had to work under bad conditions. Furthermore the historians in the GDR failed to discuss the role of the Communists in the process of the abolition of the Weimar Republic (Verbeeck, 1990, p. 37). That, among others, opened the door for Hitler. As a result a comparative history of fascist movements was bound to come.

The contradictions between the former Germany and the GDR created by the Communist regime could not be understood, because of the continuation of totalitarianism and the aversion of many to both the rituals of the state and the military patriotic traditions and education. The GDR had to neglect the Nazi idea of totalitarianism.

The main result of these negative images about their own nation related to the issue of fascism is rather ominous. Because of the neglect of the totalitarian elements of Nazism, history in the GDR was useful as a mechanism of repression and relativism concerning Nazism and fascism. Fascism as associated with the desired West and the rejected home country became almost harmless. In other words, rightist, extremist youth in the former GDR are the product of the societal developments in the country. Inflicted anti-fascism has also contributed to such developments. In 1991 we could observe the effects of anti-fascist education starting. It started in the city of Hoyerswerda in the former GDR when extreme rightist skinheads and other neo-Nazis attacked foreigners while shouting fascist slogans. The

specific experience of Hoyerswerda was that the police just watched and later on carried away the black foreigners and not the white aggressors.

3.1 Working up World War II in the FRG

The way the FRG perceived the way she has to deal with World War II has been phrased in terms of work. "Trauerarbeit" (mourning work), "aufarbeiten" (working up), a connotation of Mitscherlich, who argued that the Germans were not able to mourn, and "durcharbeiten" (working through) are characteristic terms when it comes to the past of the war. Hence the process of working up the dreadful episode of Hitler took a different course in the Federal Republic of Germany. The GDR and the other East European states considered the FRG as the heir of the former Germany and she entered upon her duties to accomplish this role.

The core of the digestion of the Nazi era in the Federal Republic of Germany can be found in three important areas of education and society: (i) political education, (ii) information through the mass media, and (iii) history.

3.2 Political Education

The Americans started up political education based on their idea of re-education (Kuhn & Massing, 1989). The United States perceived education as the best tool for achieving democracy in the FRG. That idea originated from their own educational tradition oriented on the theories and practices of John Dewey, who argued that democracy was not only a political system (5), but also a way of life, which has to be learned. From this perspective the educational pre-war system of Germany had contributed to the rise of national-socialism.

The Allies made a first significant step in August 1945 when they gathered in Potsdam and agreed that a democratic approach in education should be made possible and should be connected with the democratization of public life. The Land of Hessen took the first step among the West German federal states. In September 1949 it organized a conference on the introduction of political science at the university with the participation of experts from France, England and the USA.

After this first start other Länder (plural of the German word "Land") followed with the introduction of political education. This was not easy, as is shown in a report of the annual conference of the ministers of education of the Länder in 1960, the so-called "Kultusministerkonferenz". The report stated that although there were teachers who recognized that learning to

live with the recent past was an important aim of political education, other teachers neglected that past because of a lack of courage and knowledge or because of furtive sympathy with the idea of national-socialism. This reaction came because of anti-Semitic events in 1959, i.e. the smearing of swastikas on a synagogue by youngsters.

The main question in the discussion about political education, however, became more and more how education could prevent the Germans from starting anew on wrong political tracks. Rather soon in the first years after the war, the anti-Nazi attitude altered into an anti-totalitarian consensus. This happened not because of highly successful political education, but as a result of the emerging Cold War. As a consequence national-socialism and Communism coincided.

Looking at political education, two options could be considered (6): (i) an approach directed towards civic education, and (ii) political education, focussed also on totalitarian mechanisms and global political developments. The whole picture of political education became rather varied depending on the Land.

In the Länder of Baden-Württemberg, Bavaria and Rheinland-Pfalz among others, political education inclined towards civic education. Considering that the general aim of school education was to instill in pupils such things as piety, charity and love for the nation and home, these states of the FRG changed political education into a kind of social studies. It aimed at good citizenship and the belief in freedom and dignity, and at independence of man as a person. These aims should be reached by inserting the person in society.

Other Länder such as Hessen and Nordrhein-Westfalen and city states like Bremen, Hamburg and Berlin introduced political education which was also connected by an interrelated curriculum with history and geography. Education in these Länder and cities aimed at educating youngsters amongst other things as moral personalities. It strived to create a feeling of political responsibility directed at serving the nation and mankind through respect, charity, tolerance, justice and veracity. The aim of political education is a cautious introduction of the youth into questions of the political present from which civic education should not be excluded (Hessen).

The differences are interesting if we look at the several curricula of these Länder and cities. In the approach of civic education the role of Nazism and fascism is never, or hardly ever, taken up. Bavaria, when it comes to state and politics, listed in its curricula the following issues: (i) the notion of state, (ii) democracy, (iii) political organization, (iv) the free state of

Bavaria, (v) the FRG, (vi) the collective problem of Germany, (vi) international relations. Länder and cities with the approach of political education, on the contrary inserted the issue of Nazism and fascism in their curricula. Political education in Berlin for example includes the "Hitler leadership state", Indo-Germans, the notion of "Aryan" and racism.

The main difference between these two approaches to political education can be found in the nature of the different Länder. The approach of civic education is the outcome of the conservative Christian Democratic forces which are ruling in particular the Länder in the south of the FRG. The Social-Democrat governed Länder and cities accepted the original idea of political education as the Allies had intended.

3.3 (Mass) Media

The (mass) media in the FRG have devoted much time to the events of World War II and the crimes of the Nazis. Already in the fifties the first novels about fascism appeared in the FRG, such as "Sansibar" by Alfred Andersch and the famous novel by Günter Grass "Die Blechtrommel". Much earlier studies about the war were published, like "Stalingrad" by Theodor Plevier and Eugen Kogon's "SS-Staat", which were both issued in 1945. Other writers were Erich Fromm, Ernst Bloch, Alexander Mitscherlich and Hannah Arendt. (7)

Radio and television, however, have played an important function in conveying information on fascism and the war to the general public. Many documentaries, radio plays, documentary plays and television adaptations of theater plays, novels, etc. have been broadcast. Radio, in particular, merits particular praise for its critical representation of fascism in Germany.

The main breakthrough in the mass media discussion about fascism and the war was caused by the American television series "Holocaust", which was broadcast the 22nd, 23rd, 25th and 26th of January 1979 by the Third Program of the ARD. Even when that series could be seen only on the screens of the USA in the early summer of 1978, the discussion about it burst out in the FRG. The critics were rather negative and there was already a lot of resentment in the FRG against the series. Because of that and a 1968 agreement between the Adolf Grimme Institute of the German Highschools Association, the Federal Center for Political Education and the State Center for Political Education of Nordrhein-Westfalen to spread information and conduct teaching about the Holocaust, the German Television decided to develop a number of specially prepared backup programs for the series. Thus in the same month of its being broadcast in the FRG,

television also showed two documentaries about anti-Semitism and the holocaust.

What were the effects of the television broadcast of "Holocaust" in the FRG? In the first place a vehement discussion about the series burst out. Many were very critical about the characters in the television play and about dramatizing the Holocaust. On the other hand, as the French newspaper *Figaro* noticed on the 12th of February, many watched the series with their families. Furthermore the purchase of the series had been a political decision, because the television companies were at first not interested in buying it. An interesting question was also raised by many Germans: why did the Americans create the series and not the Germans? Or: "How can a nation which once produced Goethe and Beethoven amongst others come to terms with the fact that it also created Hitler, Himmler, Heydrich and Auschwitz, the nadir of human history?" (Utgenannt, 1979.)

It might be an attempt to solve this burning question, alongside the feeling arising from the bombardment of transmissions about the German past, which provided the background for the emergence of a historical discussion, which had been going on, more or less underground, until then: the so-called "Historikerstreit". Hence "Holocaust" became the beginning of a new episode in the German retrospective of its atrocious past.

3.4 History

It took a long time before the idea that national-socialism and Communism were identical took shape among historians in the FRG. In 1980, after the broadcasting of the television series "Holocaust", the German historian Ernst Nolte held a lecture for the Carl-Friedrich-von-Siemens Foundation in Munich, the capital of the Land Bavaria. In this lecture he postulated that the Third Reich lent itself to a caricature: Hitler was created for Chaplin. History about that period was similarly catastrophic (Nolte, 1987, p. 15).

In his contribution to the discussion about German history Ernst Nolte carefully traced lines through history. In particular he joined, though critically, American and English historians A.J.P. Taylor, David Hoggan, Timothy W. Mason and David Irving. In his conclusion he pleaded for a removal of the isolation of the Third Reich. On the contrary, her history had to be linked to the radical changes brought about by the Industrial Revolution.

Until 1986 the discussion did not cause great controversy. In that year Michael Stürmer started an exchange with a short article in the newspaper

the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (Stürmer, 1986). He questioned the role of Germany in the past and its future responsibilities as a global political and economical power. Ernst Nolte replied in the same newspaper one month later, making a comparison between the Gulag Archipelago and Auschwitz. In his opinion the German murder should not be perceived as "the one and only murder" (see: Jäckel, 1987, p. 15), but should be placed besides other ones, in particular the Bolshevik one.

The subsequent fierce discussions in the German newspaper and the expected reaction in the other European countries compelled the Foreign Ministry to inform its embassies about the debate. (8) In the introduction to the letter the Foreign Ministry also pointed to the visit of president Ronald Reagan and the chancellor of the federation Helmut Kohl to the cemetery in Bitburg in 1985. This visit was rather delicate since this cemetery is a major memorial to members of the feared SS (the national-socialist political and military organization), who had massacred a village in France. In addition the Ministry put forward some burning questions, which should be considered. Among others these questions were:

- "Are the crimes of the Nazi period unique or comparable to other mass murders in history, in particular in the USSR?"
- "Should historiography of national-socialism be historic or moralistic?"
- "Was Germany 'liberated' in 1945?"

How do we conceive this discussion, which blew over after a year? Did it really in fact blow over? The roots of the discussion go back to the so-called "Stunde Null" (Hour Zero), the moment Germany capitulated. Though the FRG accepted the responsibility for the war, by amongst other things adopting its program for "Wiedergutmachung" (recompensation), and its positive attitude toward re-education, many developed a "not me" point of view about the war and the question of the German guilt. It could be argued that during these years, because of re-education programs and the emergence of television, which paid much attention to the war, the FRG did not move in the direction of a nationalistic or conservative renaissance, nor strive to resurrect the ousted "Germanhood" of their fathers and grand-fathers (Klages, 1987, p. 203).

The "Historikerstreit" as the Germans called the "struggle of the historians" was the indication of a new time. From then on the FRG tended to move in the direction of a postponed nationalistic and conservative renaissance. One of the questions to the embassies mentioned in the letter pointed to that possible development. It stated: "Should history offer a

meaning, be an exponent of identity, and if so, how?" Stürmer pointed to the changed role of the FRG. Bitburg turned out not to be a mere incident. The chancellor of the federation, Helmut Kohl, reacted rather fiercely against criticisms about his reception in March 1992 of the Austrian president Waldheim, who had been accused of war crimes. In his reply Kohl referred to the changed role of "Germany" in the world and stated that "Germany" could decide herself whether she would accept a foreign guest. Moreover, growing attention was focussed on the resistance movement against the Nazis. In particular the 20th of July 1944 attack on Hitler became the symbol of the resistance. Based on research on the teaching materials used in 1977, Schüddekopf came to the conclusion that despite many materials about the resistance they were rather insufficient, unsatisfactory and one-sided. Their focus was on the conservatives and not on the Communists and Socialists who resisted the Hitler regime (Schüddekopf, 1977, pp. 45-47).

4.1 Japan and World War II

In 1991, fifty years after December 7, 1941 when Japan attacked the American fleet in its base at Pearl Harbor, a dispute flared up between the USA and Japan about responsibility for World War II in the Far East. During this very confusing dispute the American president George Bush apologized for the treatment of about 120,000 Americans of Japanese descent who had been interned during the war. In return they got compensation for the grief they had endured. Hereupon the United States requested, as many other nations also did, that Japan herself should apologize for the acts of war. Successive Japanese Governments refused to do so. On the contrary, Japanese leaders demanded an American apology for the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

In the West, little is known about the way that Japan has processed World War II. This can be imputed to the inaccessibility of the Japanese language. Indeed, in the domains in which the Japanese did process the war, i.e. literature, both fiction and non-fiction, Westerners only have access through translations. In contrast, in education the war is almost non-existent. Though in the mass media self-criticism about the war has been expressed by a number of citizens and citizens' organizations, the question remains why Japan did not really deal with the war which it started and which it fought until the very end.

Japan has not and does not intend to teach its youth proper knowledge about Japan's aggressive war, and she keeps her citizens ignorant about a

caesura in its history. The Japanese Ministry of Education keeps out of the textbooks anything that can be considered as being against Japanese dignity. In 1982 the Ministry of Education approved new history textbooks, which described Japan's attempted conquest of China not as an "invasion" but as an "advance". (9) The Minister of Education, Masayuki Fujio, defended the Japanese history textbooks. He stated that the actions of the Japanese troops in Korea and China were not as bad as these countries said. Fortunately his Prime Minister, Yasuhiro Nakasone, fired him; Fujio was representing the ideas of the most conservative part of the Japanese population and it was significant that such a conservative could be in charge of Japanese education.

Japanese education and media do, however, continually stress the events of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the first dropping of atomic bombs in the world. Moreover, they underline that the Americans dropped them above open cities, which were defenseless. For the Japanese, World War II started where it actually ended. Japanese peace educators are aware of this, but they can hardly change the present situation in education, because of the strong grip of the conservative Ministry of Education on textbook content. They recognized "the need to teach the history of Japanese military invasion of Asian countries, as well as the damaging experiences of the Japanese in the Second World War. Without a knowledge of the Japanese invasion and of neighbours' resistance to it, Japanese people cannot communicate well with Asian people concerning peace and war." (Murakami, 1992, p. 39.)

From a Western perspective it is very hard to grasp this situation. Westerners try to find explanations for the firm Japanese attitude not to accept the blame for the war. They try to understand why Japan does not want to perceive herself as the aggressor and therefore rejects or makes excuses for her war acts against humanity.

Hence, the attempt to reveal what Japan did, despite the efforts of many, particularly pacifist, peace groups to disseminate information about Japan's war acts, seems to be a hopeless task. So it seems necessary to look for the reasons why Japan has kept that piece of history away from her youth so sedulously. Two explanations stand out: (i) the cultural and (ii) the historical-political explanations.

4.2 The Cultural Explanation

Westerners have a feeling that they can hardly understand the Japanese. Japanese phenomena are puzzling to us. When it comes to World War II, the Japanese attitude again becomes enigmatic: kamikaze, suicidal soldiers,

cruelties inflicted on military prisoners of war, the continuation of resistance in hopeless defensive positions, and the denial of the Japanese responsibility for the war.

The mystery of Japan leads to the search for cultural backgrounds in order to find an answer. One problem is that many cultural differences occur which are entangled in such a way that they can all serve the aim of explaining Japanese attitudes. Therefore only some can be discussed briefly: (i) Japan as a chauvinist society, (ii) Japan as a conformist society with a high degree of ethnic homogeneity, and (iii) Japan's inability to confess guilt.

In the years after the war, during the 50s and the 60s, there was an opposite trend to Japanese nationalist and chauvinist attitudes. These tendencies, however, were the precise cause for the conservatives' apprehension, which drove them in turn to adopt an educational policy which stresses the values of "nationalism" and "patriotism" and which reached its climax with some pronouncements of the Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone. In 1983 he declared that the level of intelligence in the United States was not adequate. He referred that to the presence of Blacks, Puertoricans and Mexicans in that country. Later Nakasone tried to rectify himself, making things worse by explaining that Japan was a single racial country, which made it easier to turn out good students.

As I have already suggested, Japanese education plays an important role in passing on a rose-tinted picture of the Japanese horrors during the war. Before the war, Japanese education was the principle channel through which the conviction that young Japanese had to give their life for the expanding Japanese Empire was inculcated. After the war, the Japanese teachers' union opposed the idea of educating pupils in the love of the unaltered prewar symbols of flag and national anthem. Because of its supervision and control of textbooks the Government was able to tone down the previous rejection of the teachers of the old nationalism (van Wolferen, 1989, p. 137).

Japanese society "facilitated the persistence of a society characterized by a widespread acceptance of harmony and conformity as the nucleus of Japanese mentality" (Sakamoto, 1991, p. 20). This mentality found its translation into a political system which was difficult to understand. During the war there was no person – if we exclude the discussion of the role of the Emperor, Hirohito – who received a power which we can compare to the power of Hitler and Mussolini. The ruling elites of the country did not

want to hand over power to the others. Although there were controversies among the elites, they kept them hidden for the others.

The strong conformist character of Japanese society made it difficult to alter the System. In education, the Americans succeeded in changing the structure of education into a mirror image of the American one, but they failed to change its educationally rigid character. The Americans held that the "real villain" behind Japan's imperialism was the excessive concentration of industrial wealth and power in the hands of the "zaibatsu" (Reischauer, 1977, p. 107). Therefore they dissolved the great zaibatsu firms and dispossessed the families who owned them. After the war more efficient corporations than the zaibatsu emerged, which are known as the "gurupu", but are virtually the successors of the zaibatus.

The lack of a strong central government and traceable centers of power can also be seen as an inducement leading Japan inevitably towards the attack on the Western alliance and hence to the war. When, in September 1931, the Japanese Kwantung Army surprised the Chinese garrison of Mukden, the Japanese Government did not punish this act of insubordination. From then on fanatic Japanese army commanders could put Japan on the path which would lead to Pearl Harbor and, ultimately, to Hiroshima.

This is what Van Wolferen (op. cit., p. 91) calls "the System". The idea of "the System" without any individual responsibility did not occur to McArthur and the Americans after the surrender of Japan. They looked for the leaders and they selected a number (precisely twenty-eight from all the hundreds of retainers who had served the Throne in the previous two decades) of militarists for trial, and they were duly convicted by the Tokyo Tribunal. On the one hand they dissolved the old zaibatus. On the other hand they breathed life into new ones. Hence they gave them the opportunity to reorganize themselves, using another name, and to chop away needless and superfluous dry wood.

What disturbs most Westerners about the Japanese is that they seem to have little or no feeling of guilt. This is the third so-called cultural element, which I would like to discuss. Buruma (de Waard, 1992) points to this aspect of Japanese culture, referring to the Confucian heritage. Unlike Christianity, which has a tradition of confessing guilt, Confucianism, which is not a religion, but a code of rules and conventions, has a tradition of shame. In Christianity one has to confess guilt. On the contrary, in Japan one has to avoid breaking the taboo – i.e. for example discussing the responsibility of the Emperor for the war, or a lost war which has caused

excessive damage and casualties – because of its shamefulness.

The cultural background of this phenomenon, however, cannot be a sufficient explanation for the reluctance in Japan to discuss the war and to apologize, as the victims of war have requested Japan to do time after time because of the horrors she committed. In the case of the Korean "comfort girls", as the Japanese euphemistically call the "comfort girls" used to administer to the sexual needs of the *teishintai*, the Japanese elite troops, the Japanese Prime Minister, Kiichi Miyazawa, was forced to apologize. It was too much for Japan, however, to promise the protesting women compensation payments. (10) Although Korea is a more rigid Confucian society, she demanded that Japan should confess guilt.

But the demand for a confession of guilt has to be considered essentially meaningless. What is vexing is that the matter is not being gone into more profoundly. There is an attempt to avoid discussion of the events and the role of Japan in that war (Kousbroek, 1992, p. 272). We can also reason that, if we wish to speak in terms like "guilt and penalty", the Japanese have been sufficiently punished by the dropping of the bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Therefore we ought to find other explanations.

4.3 The Historical-Political Explanation

The Western confusion about the reluctance in Japan to discuss her responsibility for the war and the war crimes, which Japan committed in the name of the Emperor, grew high after the fiftieth anniversary of Pearl Harbor. The cultural explanation seems to be inadequate for understanding the difference in perceptions of the war between the Japanese and the Americans. Another explanation is the historical-political one.

I would like to discuss two issues concerning Japanese history to illustrate the historical-political background of Japan's refusal to deal with her war history. First, referring to the cultural explanation of Japanese attitudes towards the war, one stresses the degree of Japanese isolation throughout world history. Historians argue that Japan did not play a part in world history until 1853. Sansom (1951, p. 5) argues that this picture of Japan is beside the point. The different continents did not know about each other for long time. Columbus "discovered" America, but it had already been known by others for thousands of years.

Second, the events of 1894/95 turned out to be a very decisive moment in Japan's future. After a revolt in Korea and the intervention of Chinese troops in order to help the Korean king, Japan embarked on an armed invasion of Korea and China. She drove the Chinese out of Korea and

captured Port Arthur and the Liaotung peninsula in the south of Manchuria, and seized the port of Wei-hai-wei on the coast of Shantung. After the treaty of Shimonoseki, which gave Japan new territories, Russia, France and Germany turned up. They advised Japan to give up the Liaotung peninsula and Port Arthur, since such Japanese possessions would threaten the peace in the Far East. The Emperor Meiji had no other choice but to accept and tell his people that they must bear the unbearable (Story, 1982, pp. 126-127).

For Japan, however, the grapes were very sour. Within five years Great Britain, Germany, France, the United States and Russia captured or controlled the above-mentioned and other territories in that area. In the same year of 1895, Marshal Yamagata issued an ordinance which reserved the post of War and Navy Ministers to officers on the active list.

Both occurrences had important political consequences. A new elite of Japanese military leaders grew up. They got the power to force a government out of office, which made it impossible for civilian leaders to resist a warlike policy. Furthermore, this evoked a massive popular indignation against the acts of Western states. On the other hand, the Westerners taught the Japanese "how ruthless the game of imperialism could be and how unwilling Westerners were to accept other races as full equals" (Reischauer, 1970, p. 147).

In the historical debate the political developments, starting immediately after the end of the war, cannot be ignored. We have to find an answer to the question "what sort of war did Japan fight?". Was the Pacific War the same war as World War II is for others, including other Asian people? Let me go back to the "point zero": the defeat of Japan and her reconstruction. At this point – *l'histoire se repète* – the Japanese Emperor, Hirohito, repeated the words of his grandfather, that Japan must bear the unbearable.

Three issues contribute to the problems Japan has regarding World War II: (i) the Tokyo Tribunal, (ii) the role of the Emperor, and (iii) the Constitution, in particular article 9.

After the surrender of Japan the allies organized the Tokyo Tribunal. The Japanese "criminals of war" were put on trial just like the German war leaders at the Nuremberg Tribunal. The Japanese acts in Manchuria, China, Korea, Burma, Indonesia caused millions of casualties; indeed unreasonable killing took place under the authority of the Japanese government and the military leaders.

David Bergamini, however, who thundered against the Japanese Emperor, Hirohito, presented a rather different opinion. The Americans orga-

nized their first major trial in Manila. They began with the prosecution of General Yamashita, accusing him of war crimes and in the end putting him to death. This, however, dispensed more vengeance, politics and propaganda than justice. (11) They did not persecute leaders like Tsuji, Prince Mikasa and the Emperor Hirohito, but sentenced and "hanged military officers who knew no morality but obedience to orders" (Bergamini, 1971, pp. 1047-1048).

In particular the role of the Emperor, Hirohito, and the question of responsibility was discussed. Are we dealing with an Emperor System, which we can perceive as an element of the cultural explanation, or do we have to consider the Emperor himself responsible? There is an inclination to reduce the Emperor to a figurehead, who was too powerless to control the Japanese militarists and who was mesmerized by his microscope and marine biology.

Although Bergamini and other Western experts are convinced that Hirohito played a major role in what is called the third stage of the first cycle of the Emperor's deification (Ishida, 1989, p. 50), his position shifted from that of an instrument for the legitimization of the power structure into a divine entity. From that moment on it became impossible to know the real will of the Emperor. However, after Hirohito had been forced to denounce his divinity after the defeat, he still kept silent about his responsibility for the military coup of February 26, 1936, and the war. McArthur's "mistake" was his use of the Emperor as "an indispensable helpmate in reforming Japan" (Bergamini, 1971, p. 1066).

A third element of the historical-political explanation is article 9 of the Japanese Constitution. This article does not allow Japan to have any military force under the control of the Government. The United States insisted on this pacifist Constitution. Japan was so war-weary that she was willing to accept. The United States, however, started to press Japan to rearm when the Cold War started and Japan became locked into one side in the East-West conflict. (Concerning the erosion of the Japanese pacifist position, see among others: Hook, 1988; Lie, 1991.) A somewhat unofficial army, the so-called National Police Force, was formed and this was later transformed into the Self-Defense Force.

The Western countries, in particular the United States and France, nourished the Japanese peace movement through the testing of nuclear bombs in the Pacific. The nuclear issue as such did not vanish from the Asia-Pacific area. "Indeed, nuclear-arms tests were conducted in the Pacific for many years, and the Japanese people's fears that nuclear weapons have

been "introduced" into Japan proper under the Japan-U.S. security pact have not been allayed by the Japanese government's denials or by the U.S. refusal to 'confirm or deny' either way." (Swain, 1991, p. 198.)

In this respect it should be discussed to what extent the pacifist character of the Constitution could be perceived as a real political problem for Japan. (12) Leftist Japanese considered themselves as the watchdogs of article 9. As a result, the peace movement and the Socialist Party became more pacifist and they moved towards the extreme left position in the political spectrum. Hence they became effectively marginalized (Buruma, 1992). The same thing happened to the rightist movement in Japan, who on the contrary tried to get rid of that pacifist article and demanded her rearmament. This gave the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) a free hand in the political arena. It could, keeping silent about the Constitution and the war, maintain its power over the years.

The dispute about article 9 reflects the way Japan thinks about the war. As a consequence, the past became the plaything of politics. We can rediscover the political struggle over the war in school textbooks. From the moment teachers and teachers' unions attempted to present more clarity about the war, for example that Japan invaded China, the Ministry of Education gave a strong antidote. In other words, Japan did not suppress the war but she politicized it in a way that made discussion about the war and the role of Japan impossible. The politicians were of the opinion that revealing the past should be the task of historians and not of themselves.

4.4 Japan's Perception of the War

When westerners consider World War II, they perceive it as defined by the German horrors. It is the same when they look at the Japanese involvement in the war. The Japanese, on the contrary, have never understood this point. Their view is a totally different one. Two quotations could give an indication:

The first one deals with the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. The former Minister of Transport and member of Parliament, Shintaro Ishihara, explained it in the following way (Ishihara, 1991, p. 9): The note of the American Minister of Foreign Affairs, the last diplomatic message which Japan received, was "decidedly an ultimatum. It was obvious that America would never give its approval for Japan keeping all the territory, which she had conquered since the Meiji-area. In particular, the isles of Sachalin and Chishima which were parts of territories which even Theodore Roosevelt had admitted that Japan had the right to possess. Moreover, to put it more

bluntly: Roosevelt had helped Japan to obtain them during the Russian-Japan war. In the case of World War II it was clear what was at stake. It was a clash of interests about control over the colonies, at the time a fundamental question in European politics."

A second quotation comes from the marginalized opposition (Osamu, 1991, pp. 14-15). "For the Japanese and for the Vietnamese, the Gulf War showed nothing new in the field of ideas, just high-tech weapons employed in the same old routine of military action, which was conducted against our nations several decades ago. Among the weapons used against us were the B-29, incendiary bombs, A-bombs, napalm bombs, and flame throwers. These were the high-tech weapons of the 1940s and 1960s-1970s."

What can we learn from such quotations, of which there are many published through the years? They reflect a real consensus about the war in Japan. A consensus in which Japanese aggression and her militarists did not play a substantial role. It was rather the Americans who betrayed Japan and charred neighborhoods in almost every town – except Kyoto, because of its special historical value – with air raids during the "Pacific War", claiming 100,000 lives.

The Japanese when dealing with World War II concentrate on the weapons and the soldiers, who are seen on the one hand as liberating the colonized Asian countries, in precisely the way in which the war propaganda machine told them at the time quite convincingly. On the other hand they feel themselves betrayed by the military, who forced the incident of Mukden (1931) against the will of the Japanese Government. This "one-night war" was the beginning of the occupation of Manchuria, after which Japan headed inevitably into the direction of the Pacific War. (13)

5.1 Auschwitz and Hiroshima

The conspicuous events of World War II are without any doubt the Holocaust and the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki: Auschwitz and Hiroshima. These historical events have both common elements and clear differences.

The resemblance of Auschwitz and Hiroshima is to be found in their uniqueness. Both events were beyond humanity. (14) Auschwitz's uniqueness lies in the following. For the first time in history a careful plan was developed in order to wipe out a whole people. The Germans planned a conference at the Wannsee in Berlin; they constructed concentration camps and furnished these for that aim; and they murdered en masse more than six million Jews, but also Gypsies, homosexuals and other so-called "Unter-

menschen". Hiroshima receives its uniqueness because it was there that the first atomic bomb in history was dropped. After Hiroshima – we should not forget Nagasaki – no other attack with an atomic bomb has occurred.

The differences, however, throw another light upon these historical occurrences. Auschwitz took place for no other reason than a racist hatred hatched on Nazist ground. It was hatched and executed by a gangster regime. Auschwitz was not the result of a war, it was the most extreme element of the war, wanted by the Germans and started by them. Hiroshima was the result of a war, which Japan started, and it was not carried out by a regime which we can consider as a gangster regime. Hiroshima is a real matter of discussion about the justification of the atomic attack by the Americans. Auschwitz is beyond that stage, although some historians, like David Irving, try to obscure the horrors of Auschwitz.

The uniqueness of Hiroshima makes it a focus of the war in the Pacific. Its penetrative picture creates the idea that the war in that region started with Hiroshima and not that it was the end of a bloody war. The Japanese do not connect the atomic bombs with the war which was sparked off when Japan attacked Pearl Harbor. In the view of the Japanese, the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki are an act of inhuman cruelty, like the bombing of Vietnam and Iraq. They blame the Americans for this inhuman act. They feel themselves the victims of a war which Japan started, and they have the idea that they were fooled by the militarists. The Germans accepted Auschwitz and the Holocaust as an outrageous act for which they considered themselves responsible. Auschwitz is connected with the war which Germany started and which they supported. The main question for the Germans is how it could happen to them, why they did not resist Hitler rather than join him. (15)

Auschwitz and Hiroshima have fulfilled different roles in the processing of the war in the Federal Republic of Germany and Japan. Auschwitz called attention to the role of the Germans and Nazism concerning the war. They were responsible, they accepted that responsibility and they compensated (Wiedergutmachung). Hiroshima, amongst other things, disconnected the Japanese from their responsibility for the war. Hence, Japan became reluctant to accept her role. She refused to compensate even those who have the moral right to be compensated, such as the "comfort girls" in Korea.

5.2 "Guilt" in the FRG and GDR

The attitudes of both the FRG and the GDR about their war history are the result of two different ways of processing. Again the core issue is the

question about responsibility for the war, which was linked with the role of the Germans towards fascism. The GDR stated its different perspective very clearly, that fascism was a product of capitalism and imperialism and therefore not a problem for the GDR, a nation of anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist resistance fighters. We can find more examples in Europe of such a posture of non-responsibility about the war. The Austrians consign their joining in the war to the wastepaper basket, referring to the so-called "Anschluss". Nonetheless the majority of the Austrians backed the marching in of the Nazis. The Slovaks who, after Germany and just before The Netherlands, had the worst record of murdered Jews, worship their old war-time leaders, such as Joseph Tiso, because only during this horrific period was their nation "independent".

From the beginning the FRG accepted her responsibility for the war, although it took time before it found expression in education and the media. By the beginning of the sixties, at the latest, the processing of war history was delegated to education. For the FRG the structural problem of education about fascism and national-socialism was not the topical approach to the issue. That was the question of "second guilt", i.e. to what extent did the new generation of Germans have to accept "their guilt" because of a joint history with their parents. A second issue, and critique, was the transfer of facts, but not the how and why of the massive participation of the Germans in the Nazi movement. Both the issues of "second guilt" and the "how and why of Nazism in Germany" are strongly connected.

If German responsibility for the "Kristallnacht" and the Holocaust can be traced back to the value concepts and structural way of thinking of entire societal groups (Keim, 1988, p. 35), then the burning question arises of whether the present-day Germans are still part of that same structural way of thinking. Furthermore educators and pedagogues in the 1930's took part in the diffusion and reinforcement of fascism. As we have noticed, the case of Theodor Wilhelm (see note 15), a fascist-inspired pedagogue, who played an important role in the development of political education in the FRG after the war, provides a very interesting example of the problems which Germans are facing as they search to give a correct answer to the question of guilt and responsibility.

5.3 War Memory in a Reunited FRG

Almost 50 years after the war the question remains of whether the Germans have processed their war past in such a way that a repetition of Nazism, in one or another different shape, has become impossible. The same question

also applies to the Japanese about their militarist pre-war history. The question cannot be answered unequivocally, because we are not able to understand all the variables which are influencing neo-Nazism and neo-fascism in the FRG or militarism in Japan.

After the reunification of the FRG and GDR some interesting surveys have been made about the attitudes of the Germans towards the war and their inclination towards xenophobia. The combination of both aspects in several surveys is explicable, because one of the main characteristics of Nazism was its unbridled hatred of strangers, in particular of Jews, although they were very well integrated in the respective societies where they were living.

An indication of differences concerning the matter of guilt and responsibility was presented by the German weekly "Der Spiegel", which organized, in cooperation with the Bielefelder Emnis-Institute and the Tel Aviv Gallup Institute, a survey among 2000 West Germans and 1000 East Germans about their guilt and responsibility for the Holocaust (Der Spiegel, 1992). The answers to two questions are interesting: (i) "Does the German people have a special responsibility for Jews, even if the present-day Germans bear no guilt for the persecution of Jews during the NS-era?", and (ii) "Would Hitler have been a great statesman were it not for the war and the persecution of Jews?" In both questions the East Germans scored higher than the West Germans. They responded to the first question respectively with 30 % and 43 % "yes", 46 % and 25 % "no". The second question "no, even then he won't be a great statesman" with 67 % and 78 %. On the other hand more East Germans (86 %) than West Germans (69 %) considered the stories about concentration camps exaggerated.

One other outcome of the survey should be revealed. Among the Germans there is a widespread desire to put an end to the discussion about the war. The West Germans agreed with 66 % to this, while 46 % of the East-Germans confirmed this opinion. Altogether 62 % of the Germans wish to end the discussion about the war and their guilt and responsibility, while only 20 % disagree.

Two other surveys (Schubarth, Pschierer & Schmidt, 1991, p. 14) on the effects of anti-fascist education among pupils in 1988 and 1990, both conducted in the GDR, showed a tendency towards downplaying the NS-era and its aims. In 1988 a slight majority (40 %) was positive about the statement "When I think about the time of fascism, I feel concerned", while 38 % denied that. Two years later the figures were respectively 43 % falling in with the statement and 40 % in disagreement with it. On the other

hand more pupils agreed that the time of fascism had no meaning for them, respectively 27 % in 1988 and 32 % in 1990. Also more pupils suggested that fascism also had its good sides: 12 % in 1988 and 14 % in 1990. A last statement that "the Germans were always the best in history" was supported by 12 % in 1988 and 23 % in 1990.

In a comparative survey of East German and West German pupils about the same issues connected with questions concerning feelings about foreigners, some remarkable differences can be noted. About fascism both the West and the East German pupils react in almost the same way. Other statements about the past, however, brought forth divergences in the respective opinions. The statement that "the Germans were always the best in history" was supported by 24 % of the East German pupils and by only 7 % of the West Germans. Interestingly there were also more East German pupils than West German ones who were against the statement: 51 % and 49 % respectively.

The main difference occurred when it came to attitudes towards foreigners. The statement "those many foreigners here are disturbing me" got the support of 42 % of East German pupils and 26 % of the West German ones. West German pupils opposed this statement with 56 %, while only 26 % of the pupils of the former GDR did not agree with it. This is especially a problem because fewer than 1 % foreigners are in fact living in the former GDR, while in the FRG about 6.5 % are of foreign background. The citizens of East Germany do not have much real experience with foreigners, which is in contradiction with the former so often proclaimed "international solidarity".

After Hoyerswerda, new developments of German xenophobia have assumed large proportions when so-called skinheads started a mass attack of the asylums for refugees. In the five new "Länder" in particular the Gypsies who had left Rumania were the main target, but after them the Turks took second place amongst the most hated inhabitants of Germany. In a survey of September 1992 (Müller & Schubarth, 1992) in those "Länder" one can observe an increase of a rightist attitude amongst pupils. More than half of the respondents, 52 %, answered that people who do not want to assimilate have to leave the country. Now 21 % are of the opinion that the Germans were always the greatest in history. The conviction that national-socialism had good sides increased to 25 % of the respondents.

In conjunction with the violence against refugees in the former GDR the number of violent actions against foreigners in the FRG increased. In particular the Turks in areas where unemployment is increasing, as in the

Ruhr-area, became the main victims of threatening letters and phone calls. Despite democratic and civic education in the FRG the reunion of the GDR and the FRG has had a very negative effect on the results of civic education in the former West Germany. The economic miscalculations of the Kohl Government concerning the reunion have induced an extreme rightist current because of unemployment, decline of income and general economic problems. It is unclear to what extent historical patterns of Nazism are still influencing the political and social climate in the new FRG. Political interest has reached a low point and, generally speaking, an a-political attitude is a soil for extremist enhancement.

It seems that the pupils of the former GDR, who have enjoyed anti-fascist education, don't connect fascism and xenophobia, while the pupils in the old FRG do have a sense of this connection. One cannot say that anti-fascist education failed in transferring knowledge about fascism, but it lacked insight into its connection with xenophobia. The question which remains, however, is whether anti-Semitism and xenophobia do have a relationship.

6.1 Education for Peace

The role of "education for peace" concerning World War II is a crucial one, although we do not know about its effects. That the population of Japan is reluctant to send troops to Cambodia in order to serve in the peace-keeping forces of the United Nations is probably not the outcome of Japanese education about World War II. (16) The common memory of the war generates a widespread mistrust against the military and militarists. What role education plays in forming or reinforcing this profound attitude is almost impossible to trace. What are the effects of education about Hiroshima and Nagasaki? Japanese peace education has focussed on the atom bomb, although its representatives also attempt to deal with the question of Japanese aggression towards other Asian nations. The answer here seems to be negative, since most Japanese think that World War II started with the attack on Hiroshima and Nagasaki and that they were victims of a war imposed upon them. Implicit education, memories and emotions are the most important features of the attitude of the Japanese about war and militarism. In comparison with Germany, Japan lacked a fascist ideology, although it was impressed by German philosophers.

The measures implemented by the Americans during the occupation changed the structure of Japanese education, but not its content about human issues. In the FRG, on the contrary, the Americans succeeded in changing the content of education through their re-education program, but

they failed in imposing their educational system. Hence in the FRG a strong peace education movement could emerge, which led in some "Länder" to a formal acceptance of education for peace. (17) The conservatively ruled "Länder", however, considered education for peace undesirable (see, among others, Mannhardt, 1979; Roszmann et al., 1983). As a result of the changes in education in the FRG, when it comes to the human issues, one can perceive a positive effect of education concerning insights into the connections between fascism and xenophobia.

This cannot be observed when we turn to anti-fascist education in the former GDR. Nonetheless one can argue that it was the communist ideology that laid the foundation for the xenophobic attitude of many East Germans. It is not possible to judge what is true, but one can say that totalitarian and nationalist education form a breeding ground for nationalism and xenophobia. Perhaps because of their mistrust of the totalitarian regime and its state sponsored anti-fascist education, East Germans don't feel such a strong taboo against anti-Semitic and fascist utterances as is felt in the West.

In relation to these conclusions the processing of World War II has to be understood as a matter of education in general and education for peace in particular. During this war basic human values were at stake. But it should not be forgotten that there were people who resisted the dehumanizing tendencies and sustained basic human values (Vriens, 1991, pp. 37-38). Education for peace should therefore:

- give attention to the tragic pages of the history of a nation, without the idea of putting the blame on the war generation or the new generations either, but rather of connecting historical facts with interpretations of historical processes and backgrounds;
- present, despite such tragic pages, the alternative possibility of a humane future: even after Auschwitz and Hiroshima a humane future is still possible, but we must not overestimate the human possibilities for making such a humane world;
- see as a dangerous element of history teaching the whole concept of "heroism", which is bequeathed to us by the historical meta-narration; hence education for peace should not try to promote the idea of peace heroes;
- prevent the misuse of history for nationalist and other reasons.

Education for peace can play a role in processing the tragic pages of a nation's history. However it is important to take into account the feelings and dignity of the pupils on the one hand and on the other not to cause new feelings of hostility. (18) But that is not the only task of education for peace

about history. Such education should not only focus on tragic pages, but also present a genuine picture of the positive merits of a nation, without any feeling of heroism or superiority above other people. Education for peace has too often lacked historical perspective. Therefore it became a sort of topical education, which tended to follow the shadow of the present. Moreover the specific contribution of education about the tragic pages of a nation's history is to set the educational climate in which such education takes place. Not every educational setting is able to deal with history free from strong nationalist and patriotist feelings, and able to embrace notions of respect and tolerance. In such situations both peace education and history teaching about tragic pages will suffer insuperable difficulties. Yet peace almost has to make a start with education about World War II. Isn't that a bit late?

6.2 Conclusions

In this paper I have discussed three attitudes toward World War II: (i) the acceptance of responsibility for war by the Federal Republic of Germany; (ii) the rejection of all responsibility for German war crimes by the regime of the GDR; and (iii) the embracing of the role of victim of war by the Japanese. We could see that the thorough and massive education about World War II in the Federal Republic of Germany has led to a widespread feeling that it was more than enough. Nonetheless there is a need for a continuation of history teaching and peace education about World War II. In addition to that, peace educators should also deal with the phenomenon of war and alienation. Fascism did not disappear, not in the new FRG nor in other countries of both West and East Europe. In particular in East Europe the growing nationalism sometimes bears horrible references to old fascist ideas and persons who represented them.

Japan has to find ways and means for educating her people about the Japanese role in World War II, since it cannot play the victim forever. The idea of Japan bashing, which has grown up during recent years, has been influenced by Japanese reluctance to process her war past sufficiently. The politicization of this past in Japanese society is an unfortunate effect of American miscalculations after the war. In particular, the American refusal to abolish the Japanese Emperor System, its decision to sentence an arbitrary number of Japanese as war criminals, and to impose a Constitution, however peaceful its provisions, in combination with a number of cultural features (though these were not in themselves decisive), have given impetus to an avoidance of discussion of Japan's past.

Now that the moment has come when Japan will send troops abroad in order to implement the agreement between the conflicting parties in Cambodia, she must explain to her Asian neighbors that Japan will not fall back into her old habits. This cannot be done by words alone, but by amongst other things showing that Japan is prepared to educate her new generations in an anti-war attitude. In this respect Japanese education cannot persist in excluding her militarist and belligerent past from history teaching. For the Europeans and Americans, in general, this issue no longer plays an important role, since the West is stressing the duty of Japan to contribute to the international forces under the charge of the United Nations.

Education for peace should try again to start or to continue the discussion in education about the backgrounds of war and xenophobia. That task becomes more urgent now that times have changed after the collapse of the Communist regimes and the positions of the world powers have begun to alter. One should, however, be aware of the risk of a continuation of a negative politicization of the issue, in particular if it prevents an acceptable working out of a tragic past of a people.

Notes

1. See among others: Huizinga, 1937. In this book, written in a period of tensions just before the outbreak of the Second World War, Huizinga argues against history as a contribution to relativism, that could endanger the survival of a nation because all of it was only relative. Nevertheless, he could understand the reproach, but "historical orientation would only lead to the danger of relativism, if it rests with a previous loss of intellectual and moral standards, which are situated outside history" (p. 137).
2. It would be too easy to accuse only the three nations revealed in this paper. Most countries have such a historical heritage. Few of them have abjured the tragic pages of their past recently. When looking at the colonial history of the Netherlands, Lennart Vriens notes that "there was little room for the development of peace values, which, for example, would contradict the national 'police policy' in Indonesia". See: Vriens, 1988, p. 78. The euphemism "police policy" was the launch of an attack on liberated Indonesian territories by the Dutch colonial army in 1947. Authors still use this term in history textbooks.
3. The use of terms regarding Germany, the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic should be considered carefully. Using the term Germany we are pointing to the aggressive and fascist empire which lasted until 1945. With the downfall of the

Hitler regime Germany ceased to exist. The Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) was the new democratic republic after the Second World War. It consisted of three of the former zones of occupation. After 1990 it took over the German Democratic Republic and remained a federal republic consisting of the old and five new so called "Länder" (republics). In 1949 the German Democratic Republic (GDR) was born out of the former Soviet zone of occupation and was liquidated in 1990, becoming part of the FRG. The re-introduction of the notion "Germany" could lead to revanchism and the wish to regain former territories of Germany, such as the city of Kaliningrad and the territory, which surrounds that city and is perceived as the old Prussian land.

4. See: Wissensspeicher: Wehrausbildung, 1979. In the introductory paragraphs the book presents the Communist doctrine about war and warfare, in which the imperialist countries are accused of aggression, whilst socialism is serving the peaceful coexistence of the world.
5. In my analysis I'm leaving out the question of the extent to which the policy of the well-known chancellor of the federation of the FRG, Konrad Adenauer, has contributed to the establishment of democracy in his country and a democratic attitude of the West Germans as well as his purposeful effort to integrate the FRG in Europe. In the framework of this paper I will focus on education and history mainly, though his efforts could be of more significance for the way the FRG dealt with World War II and the way he strengthened the widespread feeling of "That never again!".
6. See Mickel, 1967. In the period which is described in the book, the foundations of civic and political education in the Federal Republic of Germany were shaped.
7. See: Schneider, 1979. The title "An Enlightenment, which can hardly be managed" makes clear that the wave of publications, films, exhibitions, theater plays, etc was so vast that it is almost impossible to track down everything that has been issued in one form or another. The actual information in the paragraph is taken from this article. What has not been mentioned in the Schneider article is the function of the numerous memorial places, which have to keep alive the memory of the dreadful deeds of the fascists, such as the maintainance of the Gestapo Headquarters with its cells in Cologne or the so-called "Anti-fascist tour" in the city of Bonn.
8. The letter was sent to all the embassies of the Federal Republic of Germany by November 6, 1986, 012-312.28 RE 66/86. Added to the letter was a careful selection of articles published in several newspapers and periodicals.

9. Christopher, 1983, p. 314. In the same history textbooks the "rape of Nanking" (1937) and the Japanese excesses in Korea were downplayed.
10. On July 7th 1992 the Japanese Government conceded for the first time, at a press conference, through the voice of Koichi Kato, that Korean, Chinese, Taiwanese, Philippine and Dutch-Indian girls were recruited systematically during the war in order to accomodate Japanese soldiers. But the Government denied that the imperial army had compelled the young women to do that. The estimation is that about 70,000 to 200,000 girls were involved. Although in Japanese textbooks the phrase that Japan "had caused difficulties" for these countries has been changed to "unbearable sufferings", the New York Times of July 13th writes in its editorial commentary that Japan can do better. "Japan deserves credit for accepting responsibility, finally, for the sexual enslavement of tens of thousands of Korean women during World War II. But the gesture was neither spontaneous nor graceful. Half a century later, Tokyo still resists acknowledging other appalling wartime crimes. Until it does, Japan's efforts to play a more active role in Asian affairs will provoke distrust."
11. Bergamini, 1971, p. 1049. The Tiger of Malay (Yamashita, R.A.) had drilled the Special Maneuver Forces for the Strike South in Manchuria in 1941. He had bested General Percival in Malaya in 1942. He had embarrassed General MacArthur by his skillful defense of Luzon, with pitifully equipped forces, in 1945. These achievements were still fresh in the minds of the Japanese public when, on October 29, 1945, General Yamashita was put on trial for his life as a war criminal. To many outside observers in the West as well as in Japan, it seemed that MacArthur was indulging in petty vengeance. How different was the opinion of the Allies, in particular of Montgomery, of their adversary in Northern Africa, Rommel. Although Rommel died before the overthrow of the Hitler regime, one can expect that neither Montgomery nor Eisenhower would summon and hang him.
12. Because of the problems of language usage and the political and historical perceptions of Japan in the world outside Japan, which I try to explain in paragraphs 4.3 and 4.4, Professor Yoshikazu Sakamoto of the International Peace Research Institute Meigaku gave among others the following commentary: "As a whole I am in agreement with your critical view on 'Japan's' evasion of war responsibility. At the same time I am uncomfortable with your way of treating 'Japan' as if it were a single unit." A matter of dispute, however, is the following matter: "Self-criticism has been expressed by the mass media and a number of citizens and citizens' organizations. Had it not been for these voices of dissent and conscience, 'Japan's' position would have been much worse and more audacious." Moreover he wrote: "In my

view, this is a point particularly important if this article is to be addressed to Japanese peace researchers who have been raising voices of protest to Japan's position since the picture would appear (i) one-sided and incomplete, and (ii) discouraging because of your inattention to the role played by the dissenting people including many peace researchers." Is this a problem of failing dissenters to prevail over the conservative government or their failure to disseminate information? Or is it the strong politicization of the constitution and article 9 which disturbed the opportunity to draw a just picture of Japan, both for the Japanese and the Americans and Europeans? Was it not this which became the precondition of the difficult position of the opponents of Japanese postwar policies, through which they became the dissenters instead of those who tried to change or to undermine that constitution?

13. One interesting example among others of this general feeling can be found in the Peace Museum of Osaka. A tv-movie for children explains this using the example of a policeman who is standing at a pedestrian crossing. A soldier tries to cross the pedestrian crossing although the pedestrian light is red. The policeman tries to stop the soldier, but the latter hits the policeman and walks through the red light. The little boy who is listening to the story does not want to obey traffic lights either. When he crosses the street, ignoring the pedestrian lights he is hit by a car. When he comes around, he promises to listen to his teacher and never to ignore the pedestrian light. After this story the tape starts with the history of Mukden and the Pacific War.
14. About Auschwitz there exists a consensus about its nature, but with respect to Hiroshima such a consensus is absent, because many survivors in the Far East and in the United States and Europe consider Hiroshima as the welcome and unavoidable end of the war.
15. This discussion can be sometimes rather virulent, as is the dispute about the role of Professor Theodor Wilhelm, who, under the pen-name Fritz Oertinger, wrote very influential books on political education in the years after the war. Wilhelm, who was also a Nazi pedagogue, defends himself against the charges of the new generation by saying that: (i) "Today we have at our disposal a theory of ideology, that makes it clear that ideologies possess us with phrases of belief, which rule out rational checks, and an appealing power, which cannot be understood by those who are outsiders"; (ii) "People were fascinated and allured by the initial results of Hitler's foreign policy and indulged in a collective flush of people's unity; the misery of the Weimar Republic was at last resolved by a new solidarity of the nation." Wilhelm winds up his argument thus: "Is it not possible that we would not have taken the ideas seriously if they had not gone hand in hand with a new successful regime and if they had not been laid

down in the new bible (Mein Kampf R.A.) of the new leader?" (Wilhelm, 1991, p. 8.) Comparing the statement of Theodor Wilhelm with what he wrote during the war makes his position and that of many educators and pedagogues rather problematic. In 1944 he wrote among other things: "The policies concerning Jews of the European states make it clear that they are not conducted on the grounds of racial hatred, but that everywhere hard facts of biology, population policies, economy and idiosyncrasy have led to a competent dealing with the issue." See: Keim, 1988, p. 36. The statement was made in Wilhelm, 1944, p. 8.

16. The role of Japan in issues of peace and security is becoming a central point after the dissolution of the East-West conflict. In particular the United States and Europe are stressing that Japan "can do more to provide peacekeepers for United Nations operations", and that in the distant future after the political unification of Europe "the French and U.K. seats in the Security Council be merged into a single European seat, and the other seat given to Japan". See: Nye Jr., Biedenkopf & Shiina, 1991, pp. 45-47. In this report to the Trilateral Commission "wider global roles for Japan" are considered as one out of ten challenges of the 1990s. In the meanwhile Japan is one of the few states, where the army and the costs of the military are growing despite the abolition of the East-West conflict. Japan could make a significant step to a real "New World Order" if it would reduce its so-called self-defence forces and place them under the umbrella of the United Nations. Instead of that the Government is increasing the budget of the army and the opposition is ineffectually acting against the participation of Japanese troops in the operations of the United Nations in Cambodia.
17. The 15th of April 1985 the Ministry of Education of Nordrhein-Westfalen issued an official statement about the commemoration of 8 May 1945. In article I the Minister stated that "Education for peace is an important duty of the school. This duty is related with the obligation to educate conscious, active and democratic citizens". See: Gemeinsames Amtsblatt ..., 1985, p. 199.
18. For example, it should be revealed that during World War II about 50,000 German soldiers were sentenced to death because they deserted from the army. Others who have survived the desertion are still waiting for recognition of their conscientious objection. History teaching about World War II can also cause new feelings of hostility amongst those who have never experienced war. In the Netherlands, for example, youngsters triumphantly sang in the streets of Amsterdam "Now we have our bikes back" after the Dutch had beaten the soccer team of FRG at the European Championship of 1988. In the war the Germans had confiscated many bikes.

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